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Along the Old Honolulu Waterfront

HONOLULU WAS THE CREATURE OF ITS HARBOR. Before massive air transport, it all came together at the waterfront; even today most imports arrive by sea. Some fifteen years separated Cook's first landfall and European awareness of the anchorage Hawaiians called Kou. The honor of "discovery" belongs to English trader William Brown. He had help. In 1832 Hiram Bingham met on Kaua'i an old warrior, a former officer of the government living on O'ahu in 1792. This man deposed that "When Brown came to Waikiki I showed him the harbor of Honolulu, not before known to foreigners."¹ Hawaiians seldom used the site before the time of Kamehameha.

In March 1793 George Vancouver, then at O'ahu, got word of an opening he called Honoonoono east of Pearl Harbor. Masters of trading ships on America's northwest coast had told him of a "small, snug harbor" located here. Vancouver's Hawaiian informant, Tomohomoho, said it was smaller and much shallower than Pearl. The English explorer anchored before its entrance. Early on the morning of the 24th he sent out boats to examine the passage. These found it so guarded by a reef that they concluded access was impossible even for vessels of small draft. Later Vancouver talked to Brown himself. The captain agreed in general with Tomohomoho, but said there was a passage from the sea five fathoms (thirty feet) deep between the reefs. It opened into a small but "commodious" basin where a few ships could anchor in water from three to seven fathoms deep with a

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clean and good bottom. One drawback: vessels had to be warped in and out.

During the March 1793 visit, King Kalanikupule of O'ahu met Vancouver in the *Discovery*. The king, in an advanced stage of tuberculosis, arrived on a litter in a double canoe and had to be hoisted aboard ship in a chair. His treachery brought death to Brown in January 1795, but Kalanikupule survived long enough to be sacrificed by Kamehameha after the Battle of Nu'uauu.²

William R. Broughton had been with Vancouver in command of the *Chatham*. Almost immediately after Vancouver's voyage ended in the fall of 1795, Broughton set out again as captain of HMS *Providence*. On February 11, 1796, he anchored abreast of "a small [O'ahu] harbor called Fair Haven" in sixteen fathoms, sandy bottom. His only motive: to chart this harbor, a task he accomplished in three days. Unfortunately this chart—the first made—has disappeared. Broughton described the inner anchorage in some detail. Kamehameha I gave the captain permission to "make a settlement" on any island he pleased. Broughton's opinion: "Wohahoo [O'ahu] seems most favorable for a first establishment, on account of the harbor. . . ."³

Its development is a long story. We will move on to the focus of this account, which will define the waterfront as the shore from Nu'uauu Stream to the Honolulu fort. That shore as seen by Brown and Broughton ran along near the mauka edge of today's Nimitz Highway. It accommodated no major improvement. After the Battle of Nu'uauu in the summer of 1795 Kamehameha's chiefs and followers populated Honolulu. John Ii wrote of this period in his *Fragments of Hawaiian History*. He made no map to accompany his text, but Dorothy Barrère and Paul Rockwood interpreted Ii's account in a depiction called *Honolulu in 1810*.⁴

The first surviving chart of Honolulu harbor is dated December 1816. This "superb piece of cartography" memorializes Otto von Kotzebue in the *Rurick*.⁵

Omitting Tabulevich's questionable product, we pass to Louis Isidore Duperrey's August 1819 rendition during Louis de Freycinet's visit in the *Uranie*. Duperrey, "one of the finest 19th-century hydrographers," had only four days to work.⁶

Six years later, the British Charles Robert Malden, on Lord Byron's

Blonde, "was the first cartographer to present Honolulu in the fashion towns were generally portrayed . . . [in] that era: a street pattern was depicted, and the blocks . . . are shaded to reflect a dense concentration of buildings." Malden used a carefully surveyed base line; thus major features appeared in correct relationship to each other.⁷

The United States Exploring Expedition visited Hawai'i in 1840–1841. While its sailors patronized enterprises of dubious morality, others labored over a somewhat detailed chart of Honolulu harbor and town. G. L. Fitzpatrick remarked that it was "the first map to provide evidence of Honolulu's growth beyond the immediate shore of the harbor" and showed a "far more developed town" than Malden's effort. The same commentator criticized the U.S. Exploring Expedition for "[adhering] to a rather bland style of chartmaking, so this

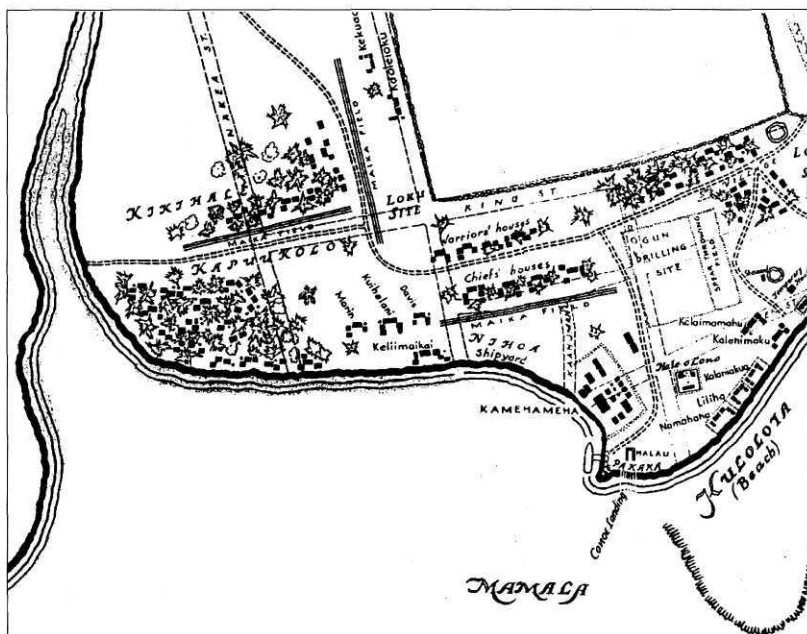


FIG. 1. Honolulu in 1810. Detail from a map drawn by Paul Rockwood, based on data compiled by Dorothy Barrère from John Papa Ii's *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, and published by the Bishop Museum Press in 1957. This section shows the area from Nu'uuanu Stream on the left to a point beyond the Honolulu fort on the right.

chart does not contain the level of cultural information found on [the maps of] Kotzebue and Duperrey."⁸ We are now ready to stroll along the old waterfront.

NU'UANU STREAM TO MAUNAKEA STREET

The Barrère-Rockwood map shows scattered houses in a coconut grove extending from Nu'uanu Stream to Maunakea Street, in a district called Kapu'ukolo. The property (LCA 170) on the riverbank belonged to Kinopu, one of Kamehameha I's "trustworthy men." In 1824 some fishermen lived here, as they doubtless had for years. About 1840 Mataio Kekūanao'a got the place by Kinopu's will. An old patriarch, Kane, lived here, and in 1848 a government butcher shop perched on the stream's edge.⁹

Waikiki of Kinopu's was the lot (LCA 22) of G. Kawaina (or Kawaina), whose parents lived here in Kamehameha I's time. He conveyed one edge to Weloula and another to Napahi (LCA 66). But about 1843 Kawaina and Napahi quarreled because the former had brought foreigners into his yard. Weloula also acted up, engaging in rum-drinking and prostitution. Kekūanao'a advised running a fence between Kawaina and Napahi. Kawaina died and in May 1850 his father was trying to get title to the lot, then valued at \$150.¹⁰

Waikiki again lay Napahi's LCA 66. He said that his father lived on the place in Kamehameha I's day and that he was here when Liholihi came to O'ahu in February 1821.¹¹

Adjoining Napahi was Simeona Kou's lot (LCA 57). He or his parents had lived here since Kamehameha I. Kou was a teacher, but fishermen lived on the property independently.¹²

Kaho'owa'a's father, Kukalanipo, had LCA 30(2) in Kamehameha I's lifetime but died before 1819. He was a fisherman, and his assistants lived with him. In June 1846 a small fence ran through the yard, "making a general division of the righteous and the wicked," whatever that meant.¹³

Pi'iakaea gave Kalunini's LCA 256 to the latter's father, Uli'ili, before 1816. Uli'ili and other relatives, all dead, were fishermen.¹⁴

In 1793 or 1794, probably, Don Francisco de Paula Marin came to Hawai'i. He was about twenty and a navy deserter. He deserves recog-

dition for his horticultural activities rather than for his "large, polygamous family." During his long career in the islands Marin functioned at various times as interpreter, physician, trader, religious teacher, ship provisioner, and business manager and accountant for Kamehameha I. At the king's request, O'ahu governor Kuihelani gave Marin a waterfront holding of about two acres. Marin wrote in his journal that Honolulu's first permanent buildings rose in 1809. In

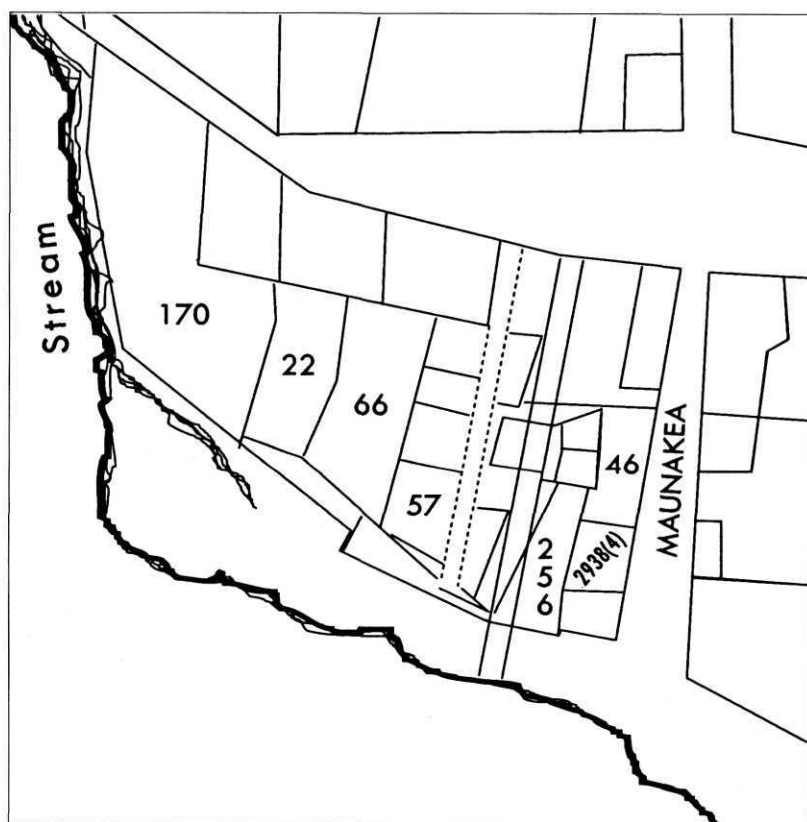


FIG. 2. Early property divisions in the waterfront area between Nu'uuanu Stream and Maunakea Street, based on a map drawn by Theophilus Metcalf in 1847. The numbers refer to awards made by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles between 1846 and 1855, commonly known as Land Commission Awards (LCA).

1810 Antonio Ferreira ("Aikona"), a Portuguese stonemason, erected a "handsome" stone house for his father-in-law, Marin. It was called America. Closely arranged around America, the grass houses of his workers and the guest houses of ship captains dotted the area.¹⁵

When Maunakea Street cut through its foot divided and partly usurped Marin's property, leaving two lots—LCA 2938(4) and LCA 46—in an ewa strip. At his death in October 1837, Marin, no longer enjoying royal favor, passed the former lot to his daughter, Lahilahi. When she died in 1844 she left it to her children by John Coffin Jones, Jr.—Francis (Palakiko), Rosalie (Rosalia), and John C. III (Huanu).¹⁶

Joseph Maughan, an English sea captain, was awarded LCA 46 in the name and for the use of his wife, Cruz Marin. With the king's consent Marin gave Maughan the place in November 1833. It was then called the "cow yard." Stephen Reynolds supervised house-building in the summer of 1834. Just three years later, Marin's corpse lay here to await construction of his vault adjoining America.¹⁷

Conclusion: From the conquest of O'ahu in 1795 to 1850, this area experienced slight development. Excepting Marin's estate, no early map shows any significant feature. In earliest days it was the home of fishermen and to a considerable extent remained so.

MAUNAKEA STREET TO NU'UANU STREET

The Barrère-Rockwood map indicates the Marin estate and prominent residences—those of Kuihelani, Keli'imaikai, and Isaac Davis. The Marin estate as awarded went from the waterfront to a bank of land awards makai of King Street and from ewa of Maunakea Street to beyond the bend of Marin Street. In September 1843, Lahilahi, acting on behalf of the Marin heirs, signed an agreement letting Governor Kekūanā'ō build warehouses and wharves makai of the area where Marin formerly lived. A map of Honolulu published in *The Friend* October 1, 1845, indicates that the French seamen's hospital was located here. In April 1846 Nicolas and Paul F. Marin wrote to G. P. Judd that the land in front of Lahilahi's frame building, from the fence to the sea and from Maunakea Street to the fence adjoining E. and H. Grimes and Ladd and Co., belonged to them. They agreed to tearing down houses at this place under certain conditions.

These maneuvers led to a final transaction of February 17, 1847, when Paul sold the parcel to the government for \$1,200. He did not participate in the Marin estate claims still before the Land Commission.¹⁸

The stretch between this property and the foot of Nu'uanu Street has a complex history as a nucleus of early commercial activity. Disgruntled Hawaiian chiefs poisoned Isaac Davis in April 1810, and Keli'imaikai played no important role in the area's development. His place stood on the coral point later occupied by the first custom house. This leaves Kuihelani. A commoner, he attracted Kamehameha's favor by certain feats of strength and later became the king's

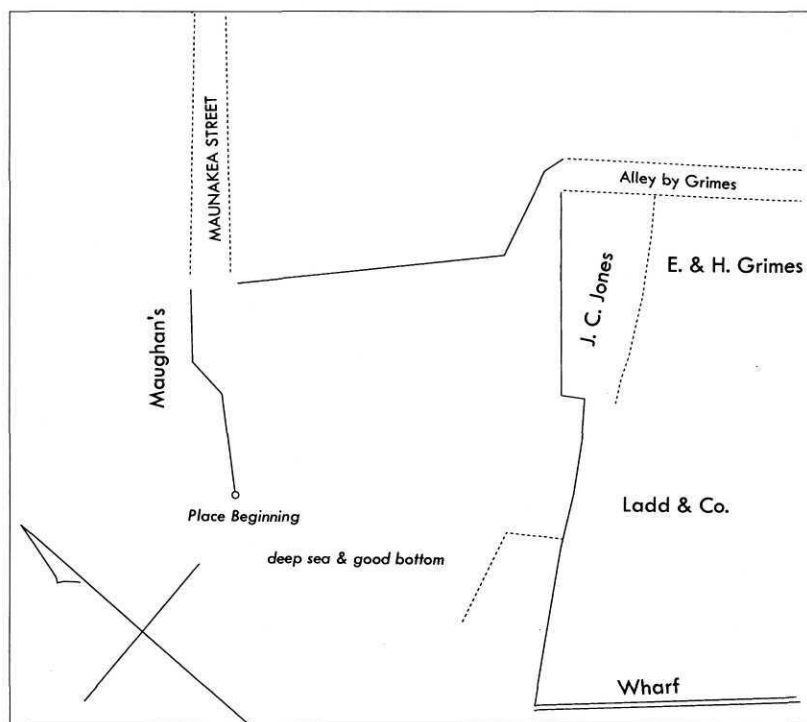


FIG. 3. Plan of Paul F. Marin's sale of waterfront land to the Hawaiian government, February 17, 1847. Redrawn from map in Hawai'i State Bureau of Conveyances, Lib. 102: 402.

steward. When the monarch left O'ahu in the latter part of 1796, he made Kuihelani governor of the island. Orators had advised Kamehameha against putting a chief over O'ahu; he should leave only commoners on the island and take the young chiefs with him. As part of this setup, Kalanimoku appointed his man Kahanaumaikai tax collector.

Kuihelani had numerous (possibly ten) wives and, according to Kamakau, was an "incomparable governor." Skillful in managing property, he "attracted prosperity to himself." Though squint-eyed, he could see well enough where his security lay and earned Kamehameha's enduring trust. Kuihelani put relatives in charge of various properties. His own spread surrounded Marin's on the back, sides, and part of the front. He called it Ka'aloa to honor his father. The governor gave his ship the same name. Its berth lay just east of Keli'imaikai's. Near the Ka'aloa and the custom house locale lived the two or three Chinese who prepared food for captains taking sandalwood to China. They drew crowds of gawkers.

Kuihelani built at the waterfront an adobe house reportedly torn down in 1843. He died suddenly and without a will, probably in 1815 or 1816. Boki became governor in the latter year when chiefs were sent to O'ahu to expel the Russians. Kuihelani's lands passed to his son, Kawailepolepo. But this heir murdered some unfortunate and the chiefs dispossessed him, furnishing a Hawaiian example of "shirt-sleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations." Soon the chiefs themselves appeared as the new landlords. This was about the time that Kamehameha bought the *Columbia*. In May 1818, four big grass houses were built on the waterfront to quarter Peter Corney and the crew of that ship. But the king was already ill by the middle of June and had but eleven months to live.¹⁹

This brings us to the Boston trading firm of (Josiah) Marshall and (Dixey) Wildes. Marshall was the stay-at-home, while Wildes had been scouring the Pacific in search of profits since 1802, at least. He got results. In mid-1826 he wrote his partner that "Every voyage and speculation which I have undertaken since I have been in this Ocean has been profitable." Will all please rise.

Marshall and Wildes got occupancy of part of Kuihelani's home grounds with Kalanimoku's sanction, given "in the usual way." They also held a bill of sale from that chief, witnessed by Francisco Marin

and Stephen Reynolds. The original deal included some land and part of an old stone store at or near the waterfront (probably No. 10 on the detailed map). By agreement the property was enlarged in 1823. Marshall and Wildes's big lot eventually extended from the waterfront to Marin Street and from Nu'uuanu Street to the Marin estate. Stephen Reynolds and others estimated the unimproved value of the whole parcel at the time of transfer at about \$300.

Capt. William Babcock was the firm's Honolulu agent in 1819. In September of that year he was putting up a two-story frame prefab brought in by the company ship *Paragon*. Its upper floor, handsomely furnished, boasted the first wallpaper seen in the islands. This impressive erection was variously known as the "wooden house," the "American consulate," and "Mr. Jones's store." Babcock welcomed the American missionaries in 1820 and offered them the temporary use of his store house.²⁰

In the spring of 1821 John Coffin Jones, Jr., arrived as U.S. agent for commerce and seamen; he relieved Babcock and occupied the wooden house or "consulate," and store, as noted. In January 1824 both men departed for Boston. Jones left Thomas Crocker and Robert Elwell, Jr., as agents. Crocker didn't work out (his financial muscles were flabby); Eliab Grimes replaced him, with Elwell as assistant. But Grimes suffered from angina pectoris (for which his doctor prescribed warm baths with ashes, salt, and mustard seed), and Wildes replaced him with his own nephew, Alpheus B. Thompson. Grimes improved, took off on a trading voyage, and left Thompson. Elwell was dismissed and paid off at his own request. In June 1825, the company moved the hulk *Eliza Ann* in front of the wooden house; at the end of August 1826, preparations were under way to build a proper wharf. It was a stone quay "opposite the American consulate" when C. S. Stewart landed there in October 1829. Wildes, in and out of Honolulu, had his fill of agents. He wrote that most in Hawai'i divided the twenty-four hours into "drinking, gambling, and sleeping." But he considered Jones and Thompson very good.²¹

October 1825 found Wildes sick of the whole Island business. Jones was hoping to close it out in 1827 and tried to keep affairs in such a state that they could be cleared out at any moment. Soon after this announcement, Jones himself cleared out of Hannah Holmes's menage and took up with Lahilahi Marin, his new inamorata.

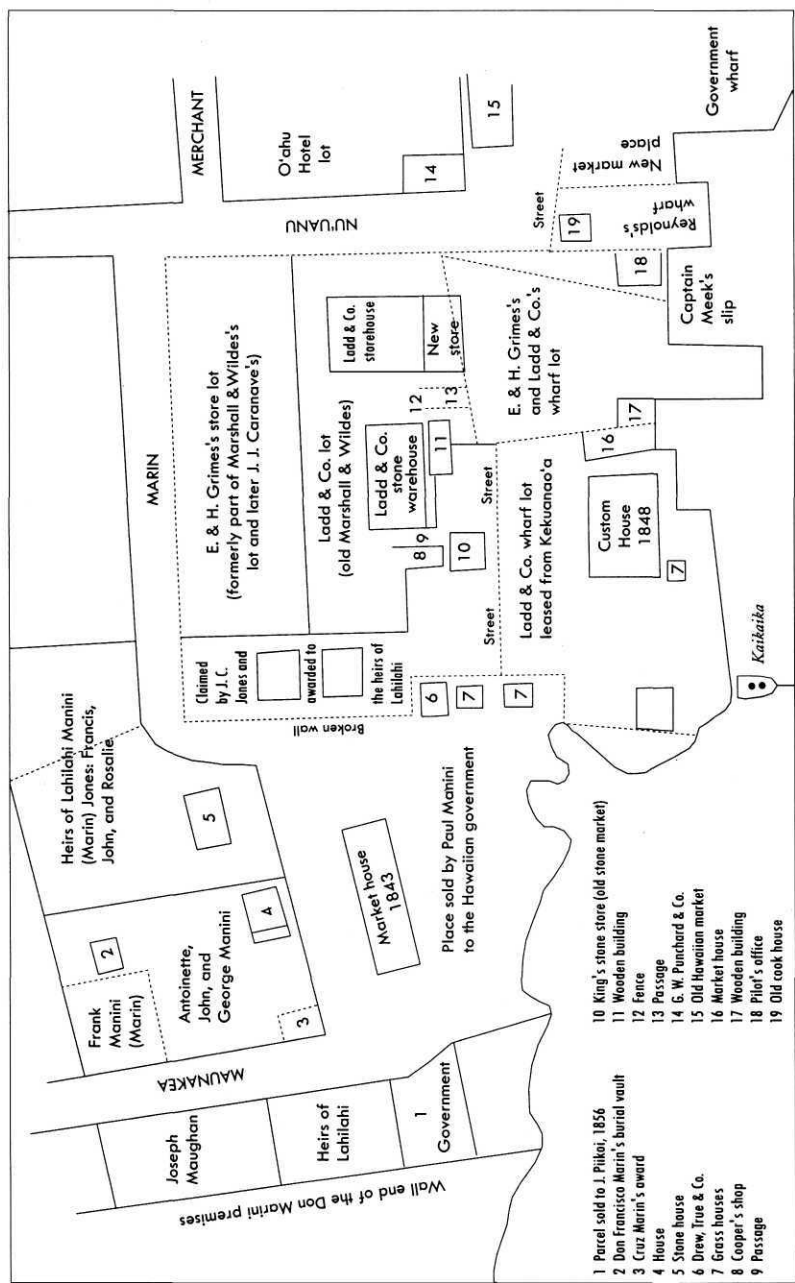


FIG. 4. Chinatown before Chinatown: A composite view of the waterfront area makai of Marin Street, based on the Theophilus Metcalf map of 1847, with additional data from Land Commission Awards, Book 1: 138, Book 3: 60, 102, 120; Foreign Register, Book 1: 146; Foreign Testimony, Book 2: 112; Report of the Minister of the Interior, 1848; and *The Friend*, January 1844, p. 3.

According to Kamakau, about 1827 a British captain brought the heads of two Maori chiefs killed during the wars there. Preserved in alcohol, the heads were later washed in Jones's store. George Wood threw the wash water on people who came to stare at the heads, last seen being dropped into the harbor from the wharf near Kapapoko.

Marshall and Wildes's affairs dragged on. In September 1829 Jones advised Marshall that the Honolulu market was completely overstocked, business overdone, and sandalwood exhausted. Available wood was so small that it was being brought to market in baskets. To all this, James Hunnewell, a pioneer Honolulu storekeeper, said "Amen," and added his own lament: Sandalwood traders got little other than chips, the refuse of better days. Beginning in June 1829, the government, by Boki's order, sent parties of armed men to scour mountains, plains, and coasts. They seized all the wood they found "without regard to justice or equity." Only a favored few escaped. Overstocked traders would take any kind of wood, and some were even ready to give the king and Boki further credit despite growing unpaid debts. The final insult: some of the wood stolen from Hunnewell was offered back to him in payment of Boki's account.

After hanging on for another year, Jones recommended in October 1830 that no more vessels or property be sent to the Islands. In mid-December he sent a final letter, still predicting an early closing. Then nothing. In April 1832 Marshall wrote that he wanted to see Jones and to settle everything, urging Jones to close in the best possible manner and to bring home all books and papers to permit an accounting. No reply. Eventually Marshall and Wildes sued Jones to recover money claimed to be due them.²²

Meanwhile—in January 1831—William French had hired the wooden house and yard for \$700 a year. Capt. William S. Hinckley and family occupied the building for a few days in September 1832, and Thompson offered the house to the newly arrived seamen's chaplain and his family on May 1, 1833. At the end of July of the same year, the fledgling firm of Brinsmade, Ladd, and Hooper rented the wooden house and part of the yard for \$20.00 a month.²³

Hinckley had been negotiating with Jones for the purchase of the Marshall and Wildes property. Jones spent most of 1833 in California. Hinckley was also away for part of the year. On returning, he

made this proposal to Ladd and Co.: He would buy the lot from Jones, then divide the property as equally as possible and let Ladd and Co. take its choice. Hinckley would accept the wooden and grass buildings on the premises as two-fifths of the purchase price. Ladd and Co. could make its decision when Jones returned, which he did in December. Near the end of that month, Hinckley bought the "wooden-house place" for \$5,500 from Jones, who showed his power of attorney for Marshall and Wildes and an original bill of sale from Kalanimoku. Hinckley at once sold the makai half of the lot to Ladd and Co. and reserved the wooden house, which later became Eliab Grimes's store, and the grass dwellings. Calculations based on an 1849 notice of sale to satisfy a court judgment indicate that the original undivided lot ran about 180 feet along Nu'uanu Street and makai of Marin Street to the waterfront, and some 220 feet ewa of Nu'uanu Street along the makai boundary of Marin Street.²⁴

Marshall and Wildes was history. The actual removal of the wooden house occurred in March 1834. Hinckley dug a cellar under it and occupied the place on March 7. On February 18, 1836, the *Don Quixote* brought back to Honolulu Stephen D. Mackintosh and his wife, Stephen's brother James, and Samuel Cushing. At once Mackintosh hired Hinckley's store for his goods and set up an auction business. Jones moved out of the wooden house in May, and Mackintosh took the apartment for his counting room. On January 1, 1837, Mackintosh and Co. (Samuel Cushing and Nelson Hall) was formed to carry on auction and general commercial activities. The business, still at Hinckley's, was on the corner of Blonde (Nu'uanu) and Manini (Marin) Streets. Exactly three months later the firm moved to the premises of R. Charlton on Sea (Queen) Street (G 1753).²⁵

A change in ownership caused this. On January 17, 1837, Hinckley sold to Stephen Reynolds for \$6,000 with the king's assent. The sale included half of the wharf and wharf lot. On April 1 Reynolds sold to partners Eliab Grimes and Josiah Thompson for the same price. Their purchase included an undivided half of the waterfront wharf lot. The association of Grimes and Thompson began with a partnership in December 1834. The new store of E. Grimes and Co. was completely stocked with general merchandise by April 6, 1837. But just two years later Thompson died at sea. A year after this—March 12, 1840—Eliab joined his nephew Hiram (in Honolulu as

early as 1836) in another partnership, E. and H. Grimes. At October's end, B. and H. Jackson, blacksmiths, had a shop on the premises. In April 1846, E. and H. Grimes commenced a new two-story store across the end of their lot, adjoining the Marin heirs. It measured eighty feet by forty feet. In May 1847, E. and H. Grimes sold to Frenchman John J. Caranave. Reynolds reported that French consular agent Jules Dudoit (a British subject) was involved in the deal and that \$14,000 changed hands for the property and an undivided half of the Market Wharf, as it was called. Caranave advertised European imports, ship chandlery, and general merchandise. Apparently Grimes rented quarters in his old stand; in the middle of 1848 Reynolds, acting for Grimes, paid Caranave \$75.00 for the use of the store.²⁶

In January 1849, Caranave auctioned off his stock and premises. S. N. Castle held a mortgage for \$6,057.70 due the following May. Caranave sailed for California in February 1849 but returned later. Meanwhile, the Grimes partnership ended with Eliab's death at sixty-nine in San Francisco on November 8, 1848. He first came to Hawai'i in 1803. Buried originally on Sacramento Street near Kearny, he was dug up, transported, and replanted in O'ahu Cemetery at a total cost of \$110 late in September 1849.²⁷

Attention now shifts to that part of the old Marshall and Wildes lot transferred to Peter Brinsmade, William Ladd, and William Hooper—later known as Ladd and Co. In July 1833 this trio debarked in Honolulu to become instant businessmen. Reynolds called them the "pious traders." Brinsmade failed to get a desired spot at the foot of Ka'ahumanu Street, ewa side. Soon, however, he learned that the old Marshall and Wildes property might be available. The situation: Early in 1833 Hinckley told Reynolds that Jones had sold his place to Capt. George Cole, a British subject, to be given up in eighteen months, or about the middle of 1834. Cole bought conditionally, "with a view to his convenience in prosecuting a whale fishery from Honolulu." All depended on whether oil taken by ships owned and fitted out in Hawai'i would be admitted to England duty free. Cole had gone there to find out. When Brinsmade inquired about the Marshall and Wildes lot, Henry A. Peirce told him that he, as Cole's agent, had control of the land, for which Cole had paid \$6,000. Peirce offered Brinsmade, Ladd, and Hooper refusal of the property at the price and terms made with Cole. While everybody waited for "intelligence"

from the latter, Jones and Hinckley popped in from California. Jones had agreed to sell the same premises to Hinckley should Cole "recede from his bargain." Jones's terms were somewhat easier on the buyer than Cole's. It was then arranged between Hinckley and Brinsmade, Ladd, and Hooper that if Cole did not claim his purchase (which he didn't), Hinckley would close the deal with Jones and divide the property as described above. According to Reynolds, Brinsmade wrote Hinckley's bill of sale "with all his Jesuitical legerdemain." Jones's cut "as the consideration for the reduction alluded to" was a slice from the ewa end of the Marshall and Wildes lot. As part of LCA 810, it went to the children of Jones and Lahilahi. Brinsmade, Ladd, and Hooper got the "naked land" for \$1,620, a price that Kinau thought too high. They "opened the store of Mr. Jones" at the "American Consulate"; they had rented this location on arriving.²⁸

By early 1835 the firm—and a shaky one it was—had changed its name to Ladd and Co. In 1838 Henry Skinner joined the business, and in 1839 a Mr. Burnham came out to contribute his talents. But as soon as February 1835, Peirce opined that the company's profits could hardly support the principals' families; the capital was skimpy—some \$6,000—and most of the operation was on commission, with little of that. Nevertheless, right at the start, the partners put up a big stone store supposed to have cost about \$4,000. Later expansion provided ample facilities for heaving down ships and roomy coral storehouses for cargo. The complex also housed offices of the U.S. agent for commerce and seamen during the period when Brinsmade and Hooper held this post (1839–1845).

Ladd and Co.'s first landing was a sunken hulk planted on the beach with royal consent in 1833. At the end of August 1837, it was taken up and a wharf built at the joint expense of Grimes and Ladd about sixty feet ewa of Reynolds's wharf. It became known as the "market wharf." In November 1842 and February 1843, Ladd and Co. leased from Governor Kekūānao'a the areas indicated on the detailed map. Terms specified fifty years at a total annual rent of \$1,500. When G. P. Judd sued for unpaid rent, Stephen Reynolds pointed out that one lease covered only a lot of water and flats never taken over by Ladd and Co.

This is not the place to detail the dismal decline and demise of that firm, which qualifies as Biggest Mess of the Forties. Peter Brins-

made went to Europe in a desperate bid to flush out capital. His failure doomed the business, which closed its doors November 1, 1844. But as late as January 1845, the defunct enterprise got all wharf privileges along the waterside, to a point beyond and including the Marin premises.

Brinsmade returned, destitute and in debt, in March 1846, whereupon the *Polynesian*, the government rag, accused him of dodging creditors and using an alias in the United States. Near the middle of June, 1846, the same newspaper capsulized the affairs of Ladd and Co.: On repeated occasions its property had been sold to satisfy judgments. Total debt amounted to \$100,000—\$140,000. The firm owed the Hawaiian government, from which it had got many favors, some \$21,000. It also owed the American mission \$5,000 entrusted to it. Money borrowed from Hawaiians had not been repaid, nor had charities given to Mrs. Diell (widow of the seamen's chaplain) and put into its hands in 1840. The company had used for its own purposes money deposited with it. It had never called a meeting of creditors to whom it owed \$80,000 nor made any explanation. This was clearly a vein-bulger, and the most sanguine observer could hardly do more than agree with Richard White that "Things are really never as bad as they turn out to be."²⁹

The evaporation of Ladd and Co. triggered a series of changes that brought other tenants to occupy its former quarters. The day after the business closed, High Sheriff Robert Boyd announced that he had levied on all real and personal property of Ladd and Hooper to satisfy a judgment in favor of the Hawaiian Treasury Board. On December 2 all goods in the store were auctioned, also the rent of buildings, appurtenances, the wharf, and a carpenter's shop for one year. In June 1845, G. P. Judd advised Ladd and Co. that the government intended to foreclose on the mortgage on the Ladd premises; money lost to the firm amounted, with interest, to about \$15,000. A public auction early in June 1847 offered a wharf lot, an undivided half of the Market Wharf, the stone buildings and a stone warehouse recently occupied by J. B. McClurg and Co., the wooden buildings quartering Drew and Co. and Madison Clark, the dwelling and premises of William Ladd, and all his household furnishings plus a pig. On October 31, 1849, an auction brought \$12,000 to pay off the government mortgage.

One of the new tenants was Robert Cheshire Janion, who, as supercargo of the English brig *Tepic*, brought out a stock of goods. He arrived August 27, 1845, at once hired Ladd's former store, and in September began trade. This partner in Starkey, Janion and Co. of Liverpool pioneered a business that evolved into Theo H. Davies and Co., Ltd. In May of the same year, C. Brewer put up a big vat on Ladd's wharf to soak hides. Late in 1845, James Brotherton McClurg occupied the upper room of Ladd and Co.'s back stone building and continued there after the formation of J. B. McClurg and Co. (A. G. Abell and Henry Cheever) in July 1846. This business also took the principal wharf. The same year R. W. Wood sold Koloa sugar at the store, and E. and H. Grimes were in the lower room of the building in the center of the Ladd and Co. complex; they left about June. A year's right of possession of their stand was auctioned in July to satisfy a judgment of \$2,010.48 in favor of Pelly and Allan, plus High Sheriff Henry Sea's commission of 5 percent, expenses, and court costs. Another auction in early March 1847 disposed of two rooms and the cellar in the front building and the upper room in the back store building lately occupied by McClurg and Co.—again to satisfy the Pelly and Allan judgment. In 1847 A. P. Everett took a three-year lease of certain Ladd and Co. premises, while in October of that year Charles Brewer 2nd got the store facing the wharf. William Paty advertised storage for rent in the Ladd premises. Charles A. Turner, sailmaker, had rooms in the upper part of Ladd's former store, opposite the new custom house, in 1848 and 1849. He also produced tents, cots, hammocks, and bags.

The shop of Drew and Co., carpenters, stood just ewa of Ladd and Co. on the government property bought from Paul Marin. Partners included Gamaliel Drew, Daniel P. True, and William Moreton. After the firm dissolved in mid-June 1848, Drew carried on with ship carpentering at the old location. Madison Clark, cooper, operated next door to Drew and Co. in 1847 and perhaps earlier. But he moved in 1848 and was sold out at auction in mid-September 1849.³⁰

This brings us to the wharf lot in front of Ladd and Co. leased from Kekūanao'a. When it was sold at auction, G. P. Judd, acting for government, bought a forty-year lease of it for \$350 a year. August 1847 found workmen digging trenches for the foundation of a fire-proof, three-story stone custom house and bonded warehouse mea-

suring sixty by forty feet. Hawaiians did all the masonry. Near the end of the job—in July 1848—tragedy struck when three men met death as staging collapsed. The *Sandwich Islands News* got in its dig by citing the “great disproportion” between the floor timbers and the thick walls supporting them. But the building lasted until 1904 when, strong as ever, it was torn down to clear the waterfront.

Regulations attending the custom house tightened the bureaucratic grip on commerce; there was much heart-burning about the trauma of moving merchandise through this bottleneck choked with forms and blanks. G. D. Gilman wrote that “the situation is used as one of espionage and turned to personal advantage. Such is report and it is quite general. The Minister of Finance and Collector [Judd and William Paty] are said to speculate largely upon information thus obtained.” This was, of course, hearsay only. At the time, no bank served Honolulu, and the prevalent burglary and housebreaking made it hazardous to keep cash. Example: Isaac Montgomery (Ikake) lost \$16,800 in gold and silver heisted from his place in September, 1846. Relief: May 1850 Charles R. Bishop, collector general of customs, announced that bullion, coin, and gold dust in amounts not less than \$500 would be received for storage in custom house vaults. Required procedures insured safety. Joy: No charge.³¹

In March 1850 Judge W. L. Lee tried to buy part of the government land ewa of the custom house and adjoining it, offering \$1,000 an acre, or \$500 for each one hundred feet of frontage. He withdrew when Kekūanao‘a and Paki hit the ridgepole because the area was tabooed, Kamehameha III’s grandfather having been killed there. Unfortunately, they did not further identify the victim.³²

Waikiki of the wharf lot Ladd and Co. leased from Kekūanao‘a lay the Grimes and Ladd wharf lot, which they held in undivided halves. They cooperated to build a wharf on it in 1837.³³

NU‘UANU STREET TO THE FORT

Sandwiched between this structure and Reynolds’s wharf some sixty feet waikiki was Capt. John Meek’s slip, officially the harbormaster’s and pilots’ offices. In May 1847 G. P. Judd was clearing away property formerly held jointly by Ladd and Co. and E. and H. Grimes and now belonging to the market wharf adjoining the old O‘ahu Hotel site.

He was also doing the same to a part of the land claimed by Stephen Reynolds, whose wharf lot united with that of Ladd and Co. Purpose: to move to the area the building sold by J. B. McClurg and Co. at auction. It would serve as noted above. Reynolds, protesting, was advised to lay his case before the Land Commission; he got no redress for "the Piratical Acts of G. P. Judd and his Myrmidon Minions." After mid-May the office occupied Reynolds's lot on the O'ahu Hotel premises. This undertaking concluded with construction of a lead-pipe water line from a man-made pond near Jules Dudoit's place (LCA 26). The water source was a mountain stream diverted into an artificial channel. The pipe ended at a tank under the harbor-master's office, allowing ships to water directly from their boats. The project got further attention with the ordering of iron pipes expected to arrive at the end of March 1850. These would carry water from the "King's Spring" in Nu'uanu. Work had begun by early August.³⁴ The plans made no provision for supplying the town. In February 1850 Albert Lyman described the routine: the discharge ran very slowly. It led into floating casks, which, when filled, were taken off by rafts to a vessel and hoisted aboard.

Reynolds's wharf waikiki was of earlier vintage. In 1823 a small landing was built out a short distance, apparently on the future site of the Marin-Reynolds wharf. It was seldom used for receiving goods. In March 1826 George Marin and Amos Knight opened their O'ahu Hotel very near the waterfront and just waikiki of Nu'uanu Street. On June 5 Marin "jumped out of his fence" and began a wharf. It was finished in the fall. When Reynolds got the property, the wharf took his name. Widening in the autumn of 1829 and the winter of 1830 increased an original breadth of twenty or twenty-five feet.³⁵

Just waikiki again of Reynolds's wharf sat the "new market place." In August 1845 Kekūanao'a put up and thatched a very large building "for a kind of market," taking about nineteen by thirty feet of Reynolds's ground. Whatever its original charm might have been, it faded quickly. By December of 1846 Honolulu's markets were "filthy and neglected." And in February 1848 a visitor to "the straw hut, commonly called the market," counted more than twenty-five "dormitories" the size of dog kennels and was told they housed as many families.

Waikiki of Reynolds's wharf, between Nu'uaniu and Ka'ahumanu Streets, lay a stretch of open beach that remained so for two decades after the flurry of wharf-building in the latter 1820s. In 1833 Peter Brinsmade had applied to the king for this area. He agreed, but referred the matter to Kinau, saying that the land was hers. Kinau refused Brinsmade because the Pulaholaho waterfront was the only spot left where Hawaiians could beach canoes. On leaving Kinau, Brinsmade met Charlton, who said that if Brinsmade could get a grant from the king, it would be enough, since the latter had asserted his right to the entire control of lands—a right then being contested by the older chiefs but strongly advocated by most of the foreign residents, according to Charlton.

C. S. Stewart documented the pioneer wharf building mentioned above. In October 1829 he noted that

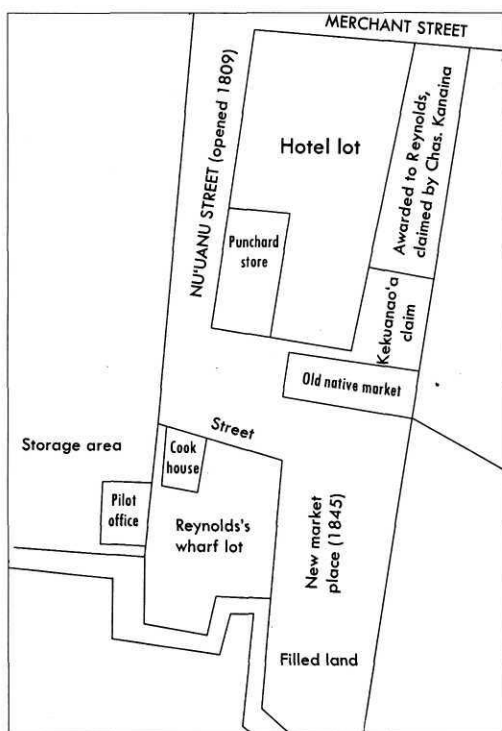


FIG. 5. Oahu Hotel lot and vicinity. John Reeves (or Rives) put up a house as a hotel southeast of Punchard's store about 1822. Shortly thereafter, James Robinson used it as a workshop for ship repair. Near the sea was a blacksmith's shop. Redrawn from map in Land Commission Awards Book 3: 119–20, 243; Native Testimony, Book 2: 411, 412; Foreign Testimony, Book 2: 100.

Several stone quays are now built at different places, along that which was only a sand-beach when we left [in October 1825]. . . . There are very considerable changes in the appearances of the town near the water, and very great improvements. . . . Indeed, every appearance indicates an advance in the importance of the place.

In the early days these stone quays required much human muscle power, since neither scows nor teams were available. But in 1840 Francis Olmsted implied the superiority of stone. He wrote: "At the head of the harbor, are several docks, the timbers of which that extend below the surface of the water, are always coppered, to defend them from the ravages of animalculae, which start into life in countless myriads in the tepid water of the tropics."³⁶

The open beach fronting Pulaholaho served an area extending from the makai side of Merchant Street to the sea and from Ka'ahumanu Street to the holdings of Stephen Reynolds. The beach owed its virginity to this hinterland, which was primarily a Hawaiian residential enclave.

In April 1840 British Consul Richard Charlton suddenly laid claim to Pulaholaho. His basis was a purported "deed" (actually a 299-year lease) given by Kalanimoku December 9, 1826. Charlton would be free to sell or dispose of the leased land at any time; at the end of the agreement in 2125, land and improvements would revert to the "Sandwich Islands" government. The estimated value of the property: \$15,000. Neither the king nor any of the chiefs believed that Charlton had a valid title.

The Hawaiian government contested Charlton's claim for a number of reasons, but mainly on the ground that Kalanimoku lacked authority to make such a grant. The dispute dragged on for years. In September 1842 Charlton departed for England "on the sly," leaving behind his wife and a gaggle of cursing creditors. Betsy Charlton registered the claim with Lord George Paulet's British Commission in May 1843. Paulet immediately cleared Pulaholaho of 23 houses and 156 Hawaiian residents listed by name late in November 1845. The area was to be a dancing ground. Subsequently the dispossessed vainly claimed \$800 in restitution. This object of contention then stood vacant month after month, "a drawback to every lot adjacent, and to the beauty of the village," such as it was.

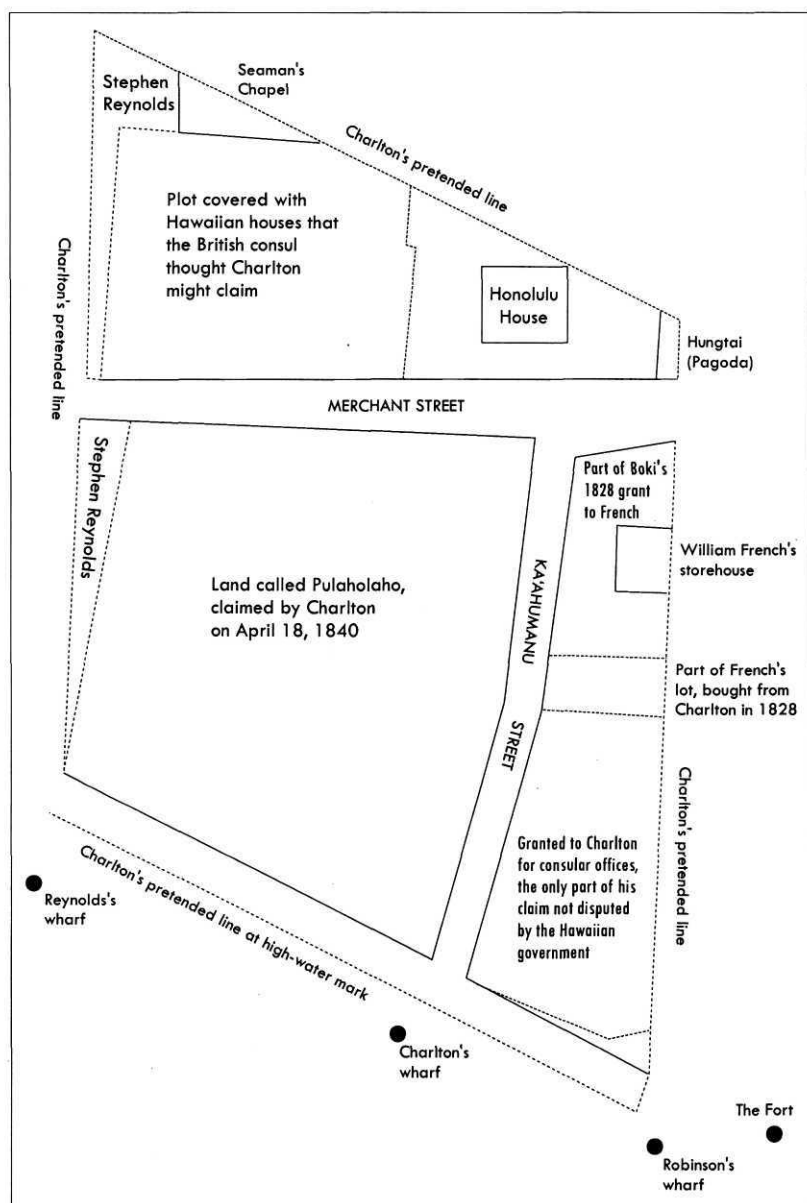


FIG. 6. Richard Charlton's waterfront land claim. Redrawn from map in *Investigation by Command of the King and Premier of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Government Press, 1846), map and page 75.

Late in 1843 Timothy Haalilio and William Richards were in Europe as Hawaiian agents. They asked that all questions at issue be settled at once in London, leaving decisions on all disputed points to the Earl of Aberdeen, British minister of foreign affairs. That official, relying on Charlton's statements, concluded that Kalanimoku had the power to make the lease; if it proved to be genuine (one of the contested points), Charlton should possess his claim. Richards and Haalilio protested but could not prevail. General William Miller, the new British consul at Honolulu, had arrived February 3, 1844. He said that the only remaining question concerned the genuineness of the signatures on the lease. He satisfied himself that they were. The final result: Aberdeen commanded Miller to insist on the immediate delivery of the land in question to Charlton or his agents—namely, all that plot of ground rendered to Charlton by the British Commission in 1843.³⁷

The Hawaiian government did not easily give up hope of rescuing Pulaholaho from the British lion and produced a long report of its investigations and conclusions, published in 1846 and 1847. But after reviewing the matter, London stuck to its original decision, a final answer reaching Honolulu in August 1847.³⁸

Meanwhile, Charlton, "very stout" but otherwise the "same as ever," returned at the end of May 1844. The formal transfer of ownership occurred August 23, 1845. Even at this late moment, Miller did not trust Charlton. He asked that Kekūanao'a, or someone who knew the boundaries, attend to make sure that Charlton did not extend his limits. A schedule conflict prevented Kekūanao'a's presence. He chose Dr. T. C. B. Rooke. The new owner fenced his prize at once. On November 26, 1845, he sold to Robert C. Janion of Starkey, Janion and Co. For \$20,000 Janion got a 281-year lease beginning December 9, 1844, and embracing 46,878 square feet. R. C. Wyllie, calling Charlton "the most incorrigible man I ever knew," deplored in May 1846 "the present lamentable state of feeling in this community" stirred up by the affair. Charlton stayed in Honolulu until February 19, 1846, when he left Hawai'i for the last time—with a blast from the *Polynesian* to speed him on his way. George Pelly had placarded Charlton in public as a "Liar, Slanderer, and Contemptible Coward." The "Slanderer" part referred to a verdict against Charlton in June 1844. He had accused Pelly of sodomy; the judgment was for \$3,450. Mean-

while Janion, though trying to comply with the laws, met hostility. Local officials spent copious time on his back. Authorities informed Miller that "from the known practice of Charlton of making nominal transfers of his property, great doubts [were] held that Janion . . . ever paid any equitable or valid consideration for the property." Janion's reply: He showed his deed to Wyllie, who "expressed himself satisfied."³⁹

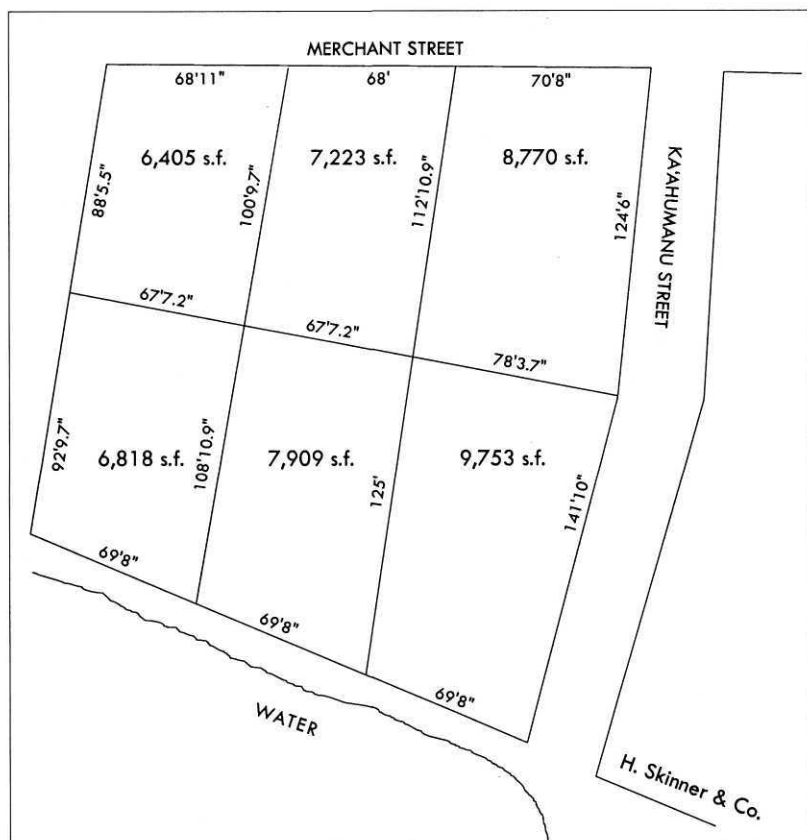


FIG. 7. The Pulaholaho area as it was divided in November 1845, when Richard Charlton sold it to Robert C. Janion. This map supports Gorham D. Gilman's observation (*HAA* 1904: 75) that Queen Street in the early 1840s was "only a pathway along the water's edge." Redrawn from map in Hawai'i State Bureau of Conveyances, Lib. 3: 219–27 (map between pages 220 and 221).

In May 1846 Janion announced plans to auction off three lots facing the old custom house on Merchant Street and running down to Queen Street—a sale postponed until July 1. In September he advertised for sale three lots, again on Merchant Street, with areas of 6,405, 7,223, and 8,770 square feet. By mid-1847 Henry Downton had an adobe store at the mauka-ewa corner of Queen and Ka'ahumanu Streets. He saw trouble; in July three enterprising Hawaiian policemen dug a hole through the wall for a shoplifting spree, not their first. Next door ewa was Peter Corney's store, opened about the first of November, 1846, and ewa of *that* F. R. Vida's, also a one-story adobe accompanied by long sheds. Vida's daughter, Domitila, married Janion and thenceforth styled herself Domitila Rodriguez de Janion. Her father had formed a partnership with E. H. von Pfister in February 1847. Captain Henry Hackfeld brought German influence to Hawai'i in 1849 when he came from Hamburg with his brother-in-law, J. C. Pfluger. This Hamburger opened a store on Queen Street about October 1 at the stand then occupied by C. S. Bartow, who soon moved elsewhere. The small wooden building stood next door to the waikiki corner of Nu'uuanu and Queen Streets. The business eventually developed into American Factors.

With title to this bone of contention settled, development of its waterfront could proceed along the beach Hawaiians called Nihoa. Kamehameha I drew up here the fleet of vessels his countrymen built under foreigners' direction. In mid-July 1846 Stephen Reynolds wrote that Judd, acting on royal orders, had begun a new wharf; it lay in front of part of Reynolds's land and ran east toward Skinner and Co.'s (the Charlton-French) projection facing the area confirmed to Charlton.⁴⁰

Four months later two wooden structures resting on stone pillars were in progress. They looked sturdy, but on December 10, 1847, one collapsed, dumping an assortment of oil, wood, bricks, anchors, and casks. The stone piled up on an iron rod had settled in the mud. Meanwhile, at May's end in the same year a space below the high-water mark had been partially filled in by order of Keoni Ana. Reclaiming this land would much improve the harbor, and at the time the filled area was being considered for a custom house. This was not to be.

By the last of May, 1849 the existing custom house finished the

year before was bursting with merchandise. At the same time, Honolulu's markets were revolting hovels "full of filth and disorder." These problems motivated the privy council to order plans for a new market house. Late in November, \$2,360 were appropriated for a one-story structure to be erected on the new government wharf (uh-oh). But soon it became clear that a second story was necessary. What Honolulu got eventually was a two-story market house measuring 110 feet by 40 feet at the waikiki end of the wharf and on adjacent ground. In

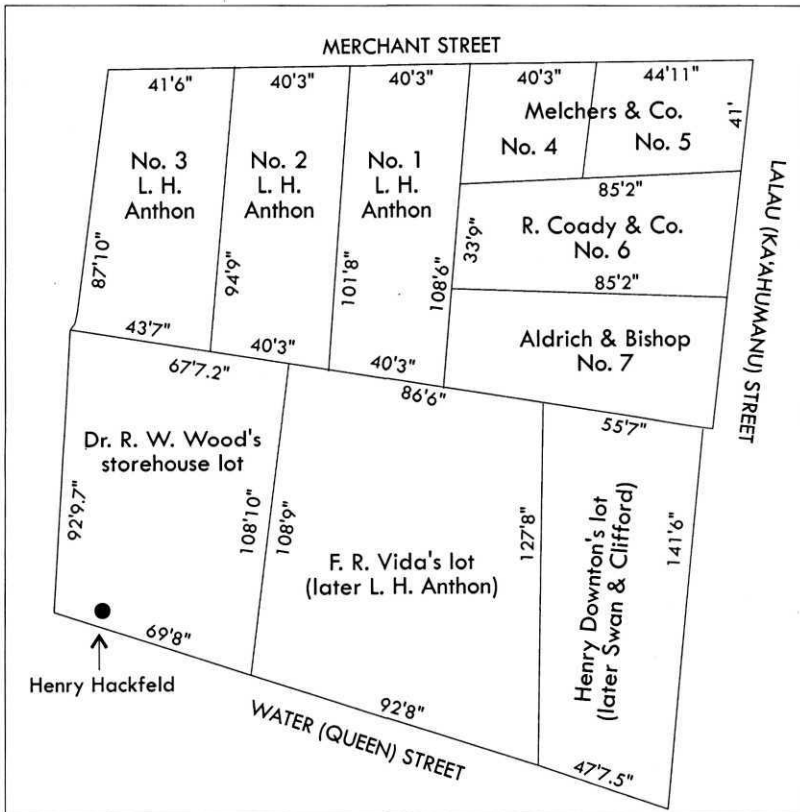


FIG. 8. The Pulaholaho waterside as of January 13, 1849, showing the lots leased by R. C. Janion to R. W. Wood, F. R. Vida, and Lyman Swan and O. G. Clifford. H. Hackfeld & Co., the predecessor of American Factors, got its start when Henry Hackfeld moved into C. S. Barstow's store, located on Wood's lot, October 1, 1849. Redrawn from map in Hawai'i State Bureau of Conveyances, Lib. 3: 251, 353, 355; Lib. 1: 175.

November 1850 a new market law named this edifice the public market of Honolulu; the following month Kekūanao'a got orders to move the fish market on King Street and all other markets to the new location at the water's edge *at once*.⁴¹

East of Nihoa, along the curve of the beach, lay Kamehameha I's compound. Archibald Campbell described its appearance as of early 1809:

The king's residence, built close upon the shore, and surrounded by a pallisade [*sic*] upon the land side, was distinguished by the British colours and a battery of sixteen carriage guns, belonging to his ship, the Lily Bird, which at the time lay unriggered in the harbour. The palace consisted merely of a range of huts, viz. the king's eating-house, his sleeping-house, the queen's house, a store, powder-magazine, and guard-house, with a few huts for the attendants, all constructed after the fashion of the country.

At a short distance were two extensive storehouses, built of stone, which contained the European articles belonging to the king.

Campbell also wrote that during his Honolulu sojourn (1809–1810) “building of the navy was suspended, the king's workmen being employed in erecting a house, in the European style, for his residence at Hanaroorā.” It was still in progress when Campbell left.

Alexander Ross, who was at “Ourourah” in February 1811, did not mention this structure but gave a more detailed description: He noted thirteen ordinary grass houses, built to form a square. Kamehameha occupied three—one for eating, one for sleeping, and one for business and audiences. Each queen had likewise three houses—one for dressing, one for eating, and one for sleeping. The king and the queen never entered each other's quarters, a separate house being set apart for their “interviews.” Ross wrote of a meal he had at the palace. The dining room was a small, wretched hovel adjoining a workshop. Host and guests sat at a dirty little table holding yams, taro, coconuts, pork, breadfruit, and arrack (a spirituous liquor). Kamehameha, eating and drinking freely, grew jovial. He apologized for the room's meanness, saying his “banqueting house” was tabooed that day. A royal guard of some forty men wore rather old and shabby English-style uniforms.

Apart from the palace a long, narrow string of buildings housed craftsmen making ropes, blocks, tackling for vessels, and such. A wing of the same lineup held men finishing single and double canoes. At the far end was a blacksmith's forge, and beyond it a room for the masts, spars, and rigging of a new schooner. The quality of the work surprised, since tools were few, simple, and ill-made. This compound served Kamehameha until he left O'ahu in August 1812.⁴²

Waikiki of Ka'ahumanu Street lay a plot destined to become a center of early business activity. In 1817 twenty-three-year-old James Hunnewell arrived with a stock of goods and here set up Honolulu's first retail store, operating it for about ten months. He then left Hawai'i but returned to the same site, 1820–December 1824. During Hunnewell's second absence, Richard Charlton appeared. He had already made an extensive trading survey of the Pacific for the London firm of Palmer, Wilson, and Co., visiting Honolulu in 1823. In London he established friendly relations with Liholiho, and before the king died there he indicated that Charlton should have land at Honolulu. In September 1824, Charlton was appointed British consul for the Hawaiian, Society, and Friendly Islands (Tonga); he arrived at his post in mid-April 1825. On December 9, 1826, Kalanimoku leased to Charlton for 299 years a piece of land near the northwest angle of the fort—a hunk running 110 yards or thereabout in front and 127 yards back from the high-water mark. Charlton could improve, sell, or otherwise dispose of the place at will, but on December 9, 2125, everything would revert to the Sandwich Islands government. The leased land would be free of quit rents, fees, or taxes. With, figuratively, a gun at his head, Kamehameha III ratified this document in February 1843 in the presence of Lord George Paulet, acting British consul Alexander Simpson, and Dr. T. Charles Byde Rooke. Five years later, the king swore he acted under constraint and duress. The original deal saw completion when Boki gave Charlton permission to build a wharf in front of his property (G1753), but not to run it so as to obstruct the wharf of James Robinson and Co. Charlton assigned this right to Janion.⁴³

Hunnewell returned in October 1826. Charlton put up one permanent and two temporary buildings which he used only a short time. Afterward he let Hunnewell occupy all his premises excepting a small part. Hunnewell stayed in Honolulu until November 1830,

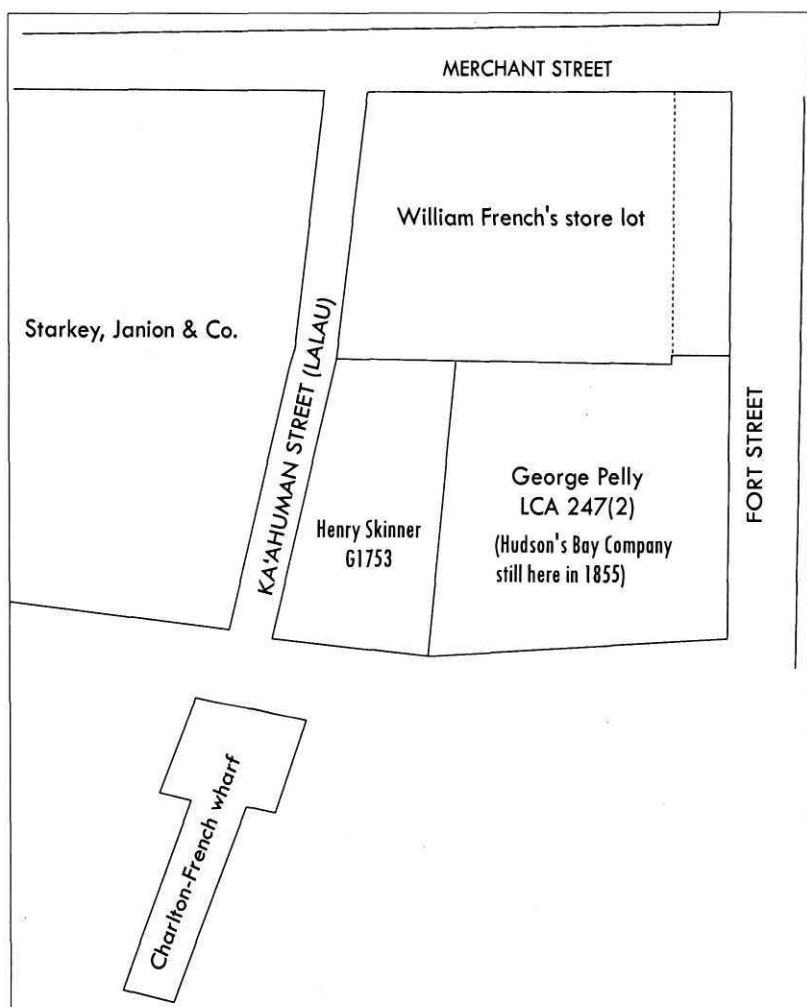


FIG. 9. Henry Skinner began his retail and wholesale business on a leased portion of the Charlton property in 1842. Redrawn from map in Interior Department Land File, May 25, 1846, Hawai'i State Archives.

when he took his final departure. He also took \$47,000, leaving \$20,000 with his new partner, Henry A. Peirce. Hunnewell's original capital and stock had totaled only \$5,000. This was pretty impressive, but he achieved something even more remarkable in Honolulu: he lived without a girl.⁴⁴

In 1832 a Mr. Reid from South America joined the town's "respectable merchants." He conducted his business in the British consul's store; his government had given Charlton the right to trade on his own while holding office. On April 1, 1837, Mackintosh and Co. moved from Hinckley's place into Charlton's. And late in August blacksmiths Wright and Starling occupied a shop opposite the fort. In early November of the same year, Alex. Smith and Co. advertised its private grogshop and bowling alley in the Charlton premises "near the beach."

In October 1838, F. J. Greenway bought Charlton's store and wharf for \$4,500. Two years after his purchase, Greenway completed a new store "by the waterside." He had mortgaged the property to Jules Dudoit to secure a note falling due October 1, 1841. Dudoit insisted that the place be sold as soon as the mortgage expired, and he made a private arrangement for a sale at auction on December 2. On the evening of November 28 an angry confrontation on the street outside Greenway's featured much cursing and threatening. Somebody told Kekūanā'ō that a mob was imminent, and he beat to quarters, but nothing happened.

In the spring of 1842 Greenway thought he was bankrupt; this involved William French, his silent partner. "A perfect maze of complications followed," riling Honolulu businessmen, stoking British-American ill will, and dragging in the Hawaiian government. In the midst of all this, Greenway lost his marbles, lapsing into periodic insanity, "although at intervals and on some subjects quite sane." Then living on the island of "O'Whyhee," he was put on a ship for Tahiti on his way to family in New South Wales. This ended a career that had begun with much promise when, as a lad, he arrived in the islands in 1831. An irony of history: It is not certain that French and Greenway were ever bankrupt. At the end of October 1844, the Greenway-French estate sued Charlton for possession of his store premises and won. Claims of Starkey and Janion and of Henry Skinner were settled by the close of 1846.

We have now to introduce Skinner, another Englishman, of the late firm of Markwick, Edwards and Co. He arrived the first of July, 1836, as supercargo of the *Europa*. Some five and a half years later—in December 1841—he leased the Charlton (Greenway) property—a move that, Stephen Reynolds wrote, “turns Peirce and Brewer and Pelly [Hudson’s Bay Co.] out.” Pelly had come to Honolulu in August 1834 as the Hudson’s Bay Company agent. At the end of August 1842, Skinner was about to start a wholesale and retail business at his new location; on the first of October he and Alexander Simpson put up a long spar and hoisted the English colors. Skinner’s business evolved through several partnerships. In October 1843 there was a reference to Skinner and Robson (John Robson was also a British subject), and in August 1844, to Skinner and Starkey. By 1845 the enterprise had taken on the longer-lasting designation of Skinner and Co. Soon after his move, Skinner was at loggerheads with the Hawaiian government, which demanded the “usual duty or tax.” Citing the terms of Charlton’s original lease, he charged the government with “arbitrary injustice.” He was also incensed at the government’s action regarding a suit he brought against John Dominis. An auction in mid-October 1848 sold Skinner and Co.’s merchandise, and the firm dissolved December 31. Skinner and family left Hawai’i in January 1849; he died suddenly soon after reaching home. In October 1849 A. B. Howe opened his store in the ground floor of the former Skinner and Co. building; shortly before this, the *Polynesian* had advertised Charlton’s waterside premises to let for two years from January 1, 1850.

In March 1851 Charlton sold the waterfront lease to William Miller for \$7,337. He did not guarantee “quiet enjoyment” or perfect title. The sale was subject to Skinner’s ten-year lease as of January 1, 1842. Then late in April 1855 Consul William Miller bought fee-simple title from the government for \$1,000.⁴⁵

We know that in July 1827 Boki gave Charlton permission to build a wharf in front of his property, but not to run it out so as to obstruct that of James Robinson and Co. It projected between the subsequent government wharf and Ke Pakaka (the Point), which adjoined the king’s (later Robinson’s) wharf. Then in December 1845, following Janion’s purchase of Pulaholaho, Charlton gave Janion the right to

land goods of any description at the place "commonly called Charlton's wharf" for the period stipulated in Kalanimoku's lease of December 9, 1826. The structure became involved in the French-Greenway debacle, and in 1846 French claimed half. This action doubtless resulted from an earlier agreement between Charlton and French to erect the wharf, referred to in the later 1830s as French's or Charlton's. The dispute dragged on, but in May 1851 British Consul Miller informed the Land Commission of a settlement that French and Charlton were to be equal owners of the wharf and the shops and other building thereon. The deal included the adjoining sea beach.⁴⁶

Waikiki of this wharf the waterfront curved down to form a coral projection called Ke Pakaka, or the Point, adjoining the old Honolulu fort built in 1816-1817. Later construction obliterated the Point before 1850. It entered historical records as early as 1796. In October of that year, Captain Henry Barber's brig *Arthur* was wrecked at Barber's Point. By Kamehameha I's order his looted goods were returned to him at Ke Pakaka. Kalanimoku lived here about 1822, and in June 1824 Reynolds mentioned the "chiefs at the point." There was a landing place at the Point or very nearby, for in March 1824 Ke'eaumoku's coffin there boarded a boat for Hawai'i. Meanwhile—in February—"Capt. Blanchard raised his house on the point—which he sold to Kuhoomano [Ka'ahumanu]." On April 20 came "A dinner given by Capt. Blanchard at the new house of Kahoomanu—all the resid'ts presen [*sic*] & Masters of vessels. The dinner was good." This gala transpired in a two-story prefab Blanchard brought out as a speculation, and for which Ka'ahumanu paid a "considerable price." All descriptions of it were complimentary. The ground floor had two rooms used for public receptions or for housing retainers. Upstairs two private rooms opened onto a balcony. There was a garret, but no chimney—not needed because cooking took place in a separate Hawaiian-style "kitchen." This well-painted and papered house was one of six foreign-style buildings C. S. Stewart noted in July 1824. The others were Kalanimoku's new "palace" on King Street, Jones's two-story "consulate," a smaller frame house of Ka'ahumanu, and the two mission houses.

At the end of December 1824, Reynolds wrote that the Russian Kotzebue was to have the place for his observatory. (Wrong—it was

the smaller frame house). Kotzebue called it Queen Namahana's residence; its second floor "had a pleasing and even elegant appearance." Here occurred the reunions of the Hawaiians returning from England with the corpses of Liholiho and Kamehamalu in 1825. On May 18 Lord Byron and members of his party moved in. These included the surgeon, the chaplain, the naturalist, and the artist. All were lulled by the lapping waves, since Ka'ahumanu's house stood within twenty feet of the shore. Another naval officer, Captain T. C. Jones of the U.S. sloop-of-war *Peacock*, lived ashore at Ka'ahumanu's place in December 1826 and gave a dinner there.

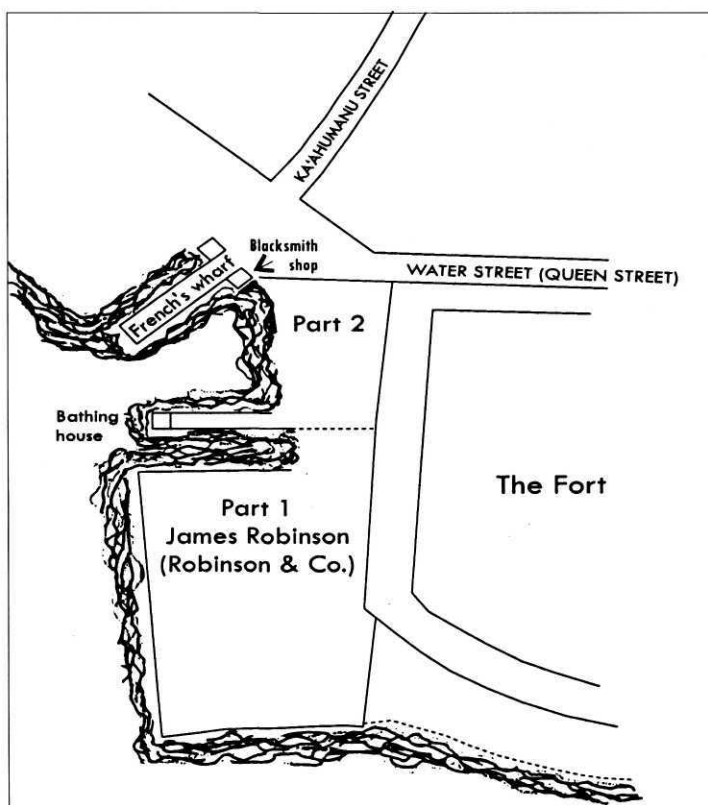


FIG. 10. Pakaka (the Point) and the eastern waterfront as of May 13, 1851. Redrawn from map in Land Commission Awards, Book 3: 110.

The dying Kalanimoku went to the house while getting ready to leave for Hawai'i—which he did on January 11, 1827. Suffering from what was then (and until much later) called dropsy, he had first been “tapped” by the *Blondé*'s surgeon. Dr. Abraham Blatchely of the American mission drained off more than six gallons between November 1825 and July 1826—and perhaps more not recorded.

By this time, Ka'ahumanu's house was about to begin another career as Boki's saloon and hotel. On May 2 and 3 workers put the building on rollers and with tackle easily pulled it to its new location on the ewa side of Nu'uanu Street (LCA 2671).⁴⁷

We now proceed to the last “port of call” on our journey along the waterfront. Let us hear the words of missionary C. S. Stewart:

Perceiving a low, stone quay on a point under the fort, and near a cluster of native buildings, we were about to land on it, when a party of Islanders exclaimed “tabu-tabu!” and informed our interpreters . . . that the largest of the houses was the residence of the king; and he had prohibited any one from landing at that place. [They] ran to the palace; and a fine looking young female, in a European dress of pink satin, with a wreath of yellow feathers on her head, made her appearance. It was Tameha-Maru, the favourite queen of Riho Riho. She expressed her regrets, that the quay was tabu; and politely requested us, to row to a spot on the beach, nearer the town, to which she pointed, and where she would meet us.

By this time, she was joined by a gentleman, who we afterwards found to be Mr. Jones, the American Consul; and taking his arm, they proceeded together to the place appointed. On landing, we were introduced to her Hawaiian majesty by this gentleman. She received us very cordially; and, after bidding us welcome to the Islands, consigned us to the care of Mr. Jones, and returned to the point. The queen appeared about twenty or twenty-two years of age; and, although well formed, is tall and masculine, in figure. Her countenance is open and intelligent, with fine black eyes and hair, but her features are too broad and flat for beauty; and her complexion that of a dark mulatto—the general colour of the Islanders.

Their encounter was at the end of April 1823; the “low, stone quay” was the king's wharf, then about four years old—described as a “coral platform, along the walls of the fort adjoining the point.” On

July 24, 1819, Marin wrote that "The people were making the wharf," and Ahukie testified that "At the time Pakaka was being built, the chiefs had the rocks fetched for [it]." The power of human muscle did the fetching. In January 1822 Liholiho had recently built a house on the Point. Elisha Loomis supposed it to be "for the conveniency of sea bathing & called the Pakaka." All visiting *haoles* (Caucasians) except the missionaries had "to pay their dollar in order to gain admittance to his royal presence."

But more ambitious plans for "the court end of the metropolis" were afoot. They involved construction of a palace on the wharf. Measurements: about fifty feet long, thirty broad, eight feet high at the walls, and thirty at the peak of the roof. By its side, a large *lanai* or bower accommodated dinner parties and other festivities featuring blue china and cut glass. The palace itself had an earth floor covered with fine mats. Lattice windows lighted three or four cut-glass chandeliers, mahogany dining and pier tables, red Chinese sofas and chairs, several large pier glasses and mirrors, some "tolerable" engravings (mostly of battles and naval engagements), likenesses of distinguished people, and two full-length portraits of Liholiho by a Russian artist.⁴⁸

For a few days before April 28, 1823, the king had been on a drinking spree, sitting "almost naked" with a bottle of gin by his side, surrounded by chiefs who drank, smoked, and sang along with him. Nevertheless, Liholiho requested a divine service in his new quarters. William Ellis and Elisha Loomis went to do the honors but to their horror found "a number of obscene pictures hung about in various parts of the building . . . having been put there by some persons who were vile enough thus to decorate the king's dwelling." His Majesty was unruffled, but Ellis refused to proceed until the offending pictures were removed. It was done. Ellis won this skirmish, but the larger campaign never ends—thanks to what has been called "the staying power of good pornography." Another but unmet challenge lay nearby. At the other end of the harbor, Don Francisco Marin maintained a similar collection. Since he was a religious teacher of sorts, his pictorial treasures had sliding panels that, when moved, portrayed scenes providing spiritual rather than physical inspiration.

Stewart was a day too late to be stimulated by the king's gallery, but

he did observe a custom associated with the new palace. When the king or highest chiefs built a fine new house they refused entrance to anyone without a cash present "proportionate to the rank and property both of the giver and receiver." So it was that Stewart saw Tamehamalu on a sofa at the middle of a long table covered with a "superb" cloth, having a writing-desk open before her, and a native secretary at each end of the table, recording the names and taxes of the inhabitants of a district. The queen's only garment was "a loose pink slip." William Ellis noted that the procession of gift-bearers (who might pay as much as \$50 or \$60) went on for three days. Just six months later, Liholiho departed on his fatal trip to England, leaving in his wake a bunch of disgruntled creditors.⁴⁹

We now turn to James Robinson, formerly of LCA 626. In 1822 he and Robert Laurence arrived at Honolulu after being shipwrecked. They formed James Robinson and Co., shipbuilders and repairers. Later an American, Robert Holt, joined the two Englishmen in business. On January 11, 1827, Kalanimoku ("commonly called" Wm. Pitt, Esquire) deeded to Robinson and Co. a lot "commonly called" the Point, situated at the wharf. The Point itself was then only a coral reef. The deed transferred one-half of the wharf "commonly called" the king's wharf. Robinson was to pay one-half the expenses of that structure and to pay one-half the receipts for the use of the wharf and premises. In time, the new occupants constructed a spacious wharf capable of taking coasters and ships alongside. And under the fort's wall the partners raised a large two-story coral storehouse and headquarters. Another feature was the company's grog shop and hotel, called the Shipyard Hotel.

Robinson assigned space on Pakaka to chosen businesses. At 1830's start Stephen Reynolds referred to "Capt. Gardner's on the point" and in September of the same year wrote that Joseph Elliott was moving onto the Point with Robinson to open a hotel (probably the Shipyard); he also advertised naval stores.

Final settlement of title to Pakaka took years. In September 1845, Robinson filed a protest with the government, maintaining that Kekūanao'a, by "erecting the present Fort of Honolulu" in 1836 (repairing or extending it?), had encroached on his holding. More than five years later—in October 1850—J. H. Smith informed Judd

that the Land Commission was being pressed to settle the wharf claim, which had hung fire pending a government investigation. But Kekūānao'a at last relinquished all claim to a disputed area, and the award to Robinson followed. Elliott had died in October 1836. Holt died in 1861 and Laurence in early September 1868. His death dissolved the oldest firm in Hawai'i, and Robinson was left to carry on alone. But not to worry; he knew how to squeeze a dollar. As early as 1836 Reynolds thought him a tightwad. He would give only five dollars toward a house for the O'ahu Charity School teacher when he was "a man of the second or third amount of property in the place."⁵⁰

Robinson's was not the only wharf to support a business; others, however, ran to butcher shops and slaughter houses with their attendant assault on the senses of passersby. In September 1846 the *Sandwich Islands News* called the Charlton-French (then Skinner's) wharf "a scene of blood and riot." Its slaughterhouse had been there for months at least. November of the same year saw a proclamation by Governor Kekūānao'a aimed at evils resulting mainly from the practice of slaughtering animals on or near the wharf. This was forbidden after January 1, 1847. Money from fines would be split—one-fourth to the informant and three-fourths to the government to support the police.

Well: In April 1847, James Robinson & Co. opened a butcher shop on the new wharf opposite the custom house. In September, W. H. Tibbey, butcher, began to operate in a shop on the government wharf. In February 1848, the *Sandwich Islands News* complained of a "filth hole" near the meat market on the wharf. Pedestrians waded knee-deep through the mire while their noses absorbed the terrible smell. In June, G. P. Judd put up a beef shop "on the wharf between the other two." Here he intended to kill beef and undersell all others, according to Reynolds. Obviously Kekūānao'a's proclamation had hen's teeth; in December 1850 new sanitary regulations upped the pressure. Notices in Hawaiian and English went to all butchers and were posted in town; they strictly prohibited cow slaughtering at any place within the city limits, on any highway leading thereto, and on the banks of or over any stream used for drinking.

There were, however, other kinds of enterprises. In 1846 and for years after, a blacksmith shop sat at the head of the Charlton-French

wharf. In February, 1847, Starkey, Janion and Co. leased its store on the wharf facing the inner harbor to Godfrey Rhodes and Co. June found D. P. Penhallow, stock and exchange broker, advertising his business "on the quay, next to the market wharf." In August, Cooper Madison Clark had taken the building on the wharf near the store of G. W. Punchard and Co.⁵¹

The waterfront was where the profits began. Why not expand both? One result was a spate of "water lots"—numbering at least thirty-four—laid out in the later 1840s. Information is sketchy. Examples:

In April 1848, Isaac Montgomery offered \$150 each for fee simple titles to lots 4 and 6. At the same time, Louis Gravier wanted lots 3 and 34, offering \$150 and \$100.

A year later Lorrin Andrews desired the tide land called Kuloloia, joining the fort on the mauka side and the wharf of James Robinson and running to deep sea. Total area: about an acre or more. His offer: \$100. The answer: Not for sale.

In May 1854, Queen Kalama and the Hawaiian government disputed title to the reef and water lots called Waikahalulu makai of the fort. In August, an act was passed relating to these lots, and in the same month, the queen offered to sell her claim to the government for \$22,000. Accepted.⁵²

Hulks bobbing at anchor or ashore in the harbor awaited death with whatever dignity they could muster. The waterfront's last outpost, they yet served as best they might—usually for storage or as transshipment warehouses. A roll call:

1817: *Kodiak*, a ship of the Russian American Co. run out of Kaua'i, barely made port, leaking badly. Its crew of one hundred Aleuts and some Russians beached it.

1818: *Kodiak*, plus an American ship that had been sold to the king, both lying on their sides.

1822: *Thaddeus*, a worn-out ship sold to the chiefs. It had brought the pioneer company of missionaries to Hawai'i in 1820.

1823: *Ruby* and *Wellington*.

1825: *Eliza Ann*, already a resident hulk, was moved in front of the "wooden house." An old, broken ship lying close to the landing place was used for firewood by the *Blonde's* crew with Boki's permission.

1831: Ship repaired and loaded alongside a hulk.

1834: The hulk *Dawn* used as living quarters for Northwest Indians. "The Hulk" used for repair of vessels hauled alongside.

1835: A "hard blow" in February drove the old *Wellington* and an old cutter ashore. These rotten hulks had lain a long time in the two best places in the harbor.

1836: James Robinson was using a hulk for ship repair.

1838: The *Santa Barbara* was to be the dwelling of Indians when in Honolulu.

1845: Storage aboard the *Wellington* advertised by C. Brewer and Co. Fourth of July salutes were fired from "the hulk in the harbor."

1846: The "rotten old tub" *Basilisk* a hulk. For four years Lieutenant Samuel Hunt (since promoted to commander) plied the Pacific in the difficult position of guardian of the Queen of Tahiti—a post in which he "showed great zeal and ability." The *Basilisk* was his flagship (and only ship). The hulk of the bark *Conception*, formerly owned by C. Brewer and Co., was to be removed by blasting. Notice would be given by the ringing of a bell.⁵³

Talk of ringing bells! The waterfront was The Place Where the Fun Began. Scads of whalers were young ones who left dull farms and towns to seek adventures and fortune. But far too many found little but skull-cracking boredom. Why else those mountains of scrimshaw? Almost any port meant drinking without discretion, gambling without guilt, and passion without penicillin—exactly the kind of environment Franklin P. Jones had in mind when he observed: "One thing about experience is, if you don't have much, you get a lot." Enough said.

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